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A KEYHOLE
— FOR —
ROGER WILLIAMS' KEY.

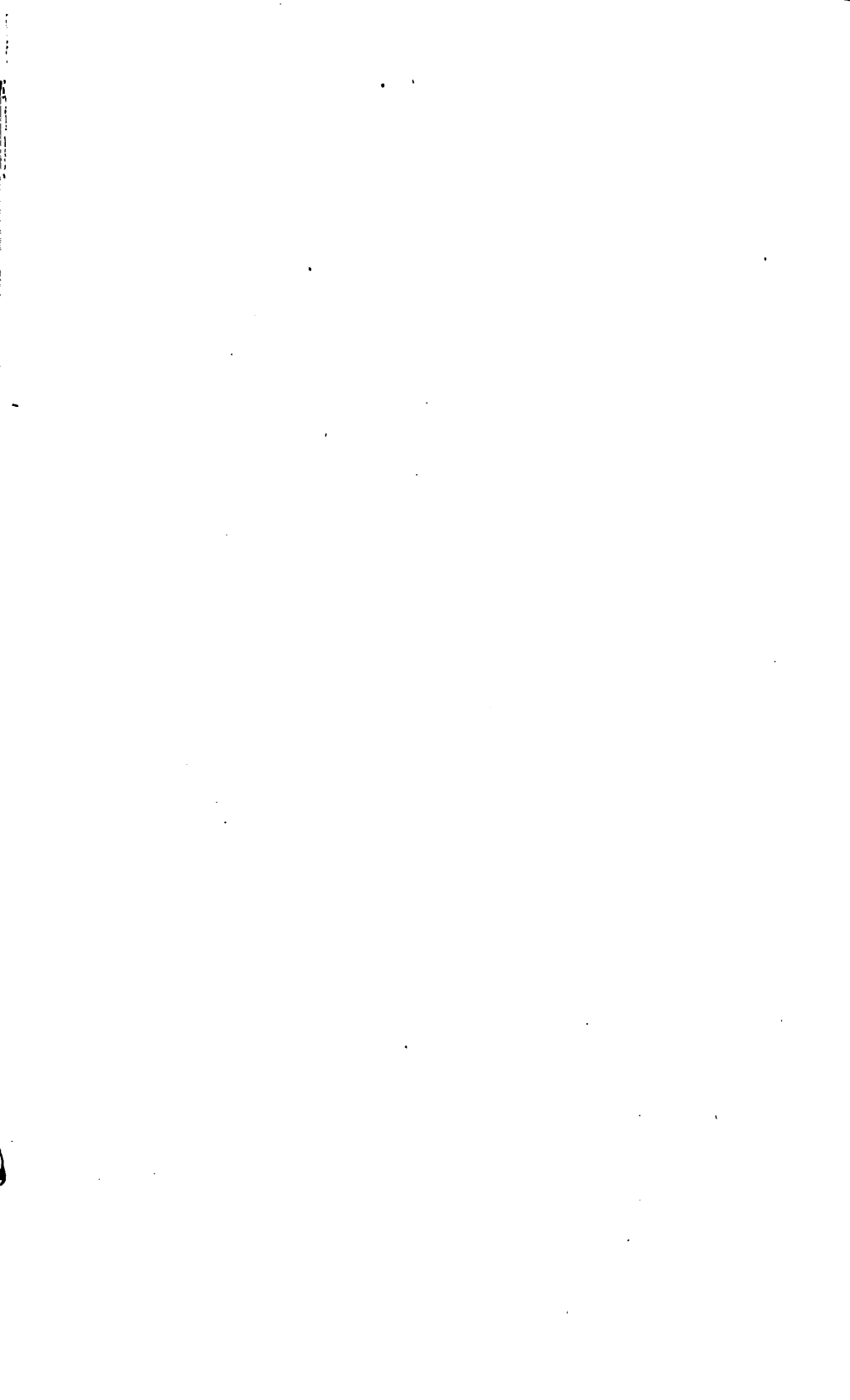


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A PAPER,
READ BEFORE THE RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY,
BY
WILLIAM D. ELY.

PROVIDENCE:
1892





A KEYHOLE

— FOR —

ROGER WILLIAMS' KEY;

— OR, —

A STUDY, OF SUGGESTED MISPRINTS,
IN ITS SIXTEENTH CHAPTER,
“OF THE EARTH AND THE FRUITS THEREOF, &C.”



A PAPER,
READ BEFORE THE RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY,
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28 Jan., 1893
Gift of
S. H. Green
of Cambridge.

A KEYHOLE
FOR
"ROGER WILLIAMS' KEY, &c."

As the Rhode Island Historical Society was the first to reprint in this country the "*Key into the Language of America*," composed by Roger Williams during his voyage to England in 1643, and originally published there by Gregory Dexter, of London, in that same year, it seems peculiarly fitting that a question, which is now made for the first time, relating to the accuracy, or authenticity of a portion of the Key, and as to the genuineness of the text and of the definitions of certain of its Indian words, as printed therein, should be first brought before this Society.

While it is certainly late to question the Key, it is never too late to correct an error if it exist,—and especially if the error was doubtless not the author's own, but one imposed on him by typographers and by want of due care on a proof-reader's part.

It should also be remarked beforehand, that the occasion which at this late day calls our attention to the Indian language and suggests inaccuracy in Roger Williams' Key, has arisen incidentally from an examination of his writings as bearing on the botanical question of the true origin of the common kidney bean, known also as the "Indian beane," and sometimes as the "French bean," according to his statement.

And it is hoped that the essential dryness of the subject and circumstances of its presentation will explain and excuse the desultory manner of its treatment.

The works and reputation of Roger Williams deserve the highest consideration ; and if in his Key or elsewhere the bean seems to have been overlooked or misrepresented, it is due to the truth of history and language to reconcile the discrepancy if possible, and if that be not possible, then to vindicate the character and reputation of the author and the man, without impeaching or treating with disrespect the reputation of the bean.

To this duty your attention is now turned in an essay towards solving the question, Why, in the 16th Chapter of Williams' printed Key, relating as it does expressly to the Fruits and products of the Soil, do we find no mention whatever of beans ?

And to indicate the neglect to which the bean is

subjected on the face of this chapter, a few remarks may be made in illustration of the high position accorded in various ages of the world to this humble legume.

It will hardly do to say this is a question of no moment, or that the inquiry is beneath the dignity of this Society. It must be borne in mind, that beans are not to be trifled with, or treated with neglect.

A distinguished son of Rhode Island, the Rev. Dr. Lincoln Wayland, brought them forward not long ago on a public occasion by asking the question — “Why does the World minify our intelligence by depreciating our favorite article of diet, and express the ultimate extreme of mental pauperism, by saying of him on whose intellect they would heap contempt, ‘He doesn’t know beans’?”

He did not answer this question, for like many others, it is more easily asked than answered,—but as “the Hub” of New England is the centre of wisdom, and as in the progress of evolution its ancient symbol of the groveling cod seems to have been supplanted by that of the aspiring bean,* it

* *Life*, so quick to seize the spirit of the times, in its anniversary illustration of 16th June, 1892, symbolizes the crowning defence of Bunker Hill by a bag of “beans.”

In *The New York Times*, also, July 15th, 1892, it is stated that the mysterious letters built into the walls of the Public Library of Boston, when properly combined, spell “baked beans.”

may be imagined that beans are regarded there as the primal object of intelligent consciousness, the first reality of human knowledge.

If this be so, the *minimum* of knowledge is the knowledge of beans ; and, consequently, the *maximum* of ignorance — or as Dr. Wayland happily phrases it, “the extreme of mental pauperism”— must be “not to know beans.”

Besides all this, the ancient Greeks and Romans, we are told, had higher uses than we have for the bean. They gathered by them the votes of the people, determined the elections of magistrates and decided the guilt or innocence of parties accused of crime. A *white* bean signified absolution or acquittal, and a *black* one condemnation. Indeed, so closely was the bean identified with ancient political systems, that when Pythagoras himself would caution his disciples against soiling themselves in party politics, he had only to urge them to “abstain from beans.”

In the 16th and 17th centuries, the corporations of the Dutch provinces generally selected their officers by lot, using for this purpose colored or gilded beans.*

Even in Massachusetts, it was ordered, in 1643 (at the very meeting which decided on hostilities

*Campbell II. 436, 439.

against Gorton), that for the yearly choosing of Assistants for the time to come, instead of paps. [papers] the freemen shall use Indian beanes — the white beanes to manifest election, the black for blanks.*

A late deliverance in your *Providence Journal*, also shows that the bean is beginning to figure in American politics. It says, that "Boston has been getting its principal supply of brain food from imported beans, and that the native bean must be protected against the pauper leguminists of Europe, although the intellectual product of Boston should be reduced fifty per cent. in quality and an equal amount in quantity."

But above and beyond all these and a thousand years before the founding of Rome, if we are to accept the dicta of the clergy, the fate of nations and the religious development of mankind was staked in no small degree upon a mess of beans. For Bishop Hall declares that "Jacob's Pottage" was made of lentiles or small beans, common in Egypt and Syria, probably Egyptian beans, which Jacob had procured as a dainty ; and adds "There never was any meat, except the forbidden fruit, so dear bought as this broth of Jacob."† A broth of beans, on which so

*Mass. Records, II. 42.

†Commentary, p. 30.

largely turned the destinies not only of the two sons immediately concerned, but of the twelve tribes of Israel, and of all the nations thereafter brought under the influence of their religion and their material or moral power.

Associated thus with ignorance, with politics, with tariffs, with religion and with law, and cultivated for food over all the world, it is obvious there must have been evolved, in the course of Nature, several genera of beans. Three of these genera, all that we need notice here, *Faba*, *Phaseolus* and *Dolichos*, are those most universally known,

The common bean, in all its varieties as cultivated in Britain and on the continent of Europe, is said to be the produce of the *Faba vulgaris*. The kidney bean or Indian bean, and Haricot or bush bean, is the seed of *Phaseolus vulgaris*; while according to De Candolle, our pole bean was probably the *Dolichos* of Theophrastus, the voting bean of Roman and Greek. But it is only with the *Phaseolus*, that we are now concerned, and we find by the statements of various authors that this bean was of as great relative importance to the American Indian, as the other genera of beans to the inhabitants of the various portions of the world in which they grew.

Now Prof. Wittmach of Berlin, remarking upon Dr. Asa Gray's Review of De Candolle, on the *Origin of Cultivated Plants*, has recently pronounced in

favor of the American origin of the kidney bean, in which he is supported by the high authority of the late eminent Botanist, Dr. Asa Gray, and that of Dr. Trumbull the learned Indian scholar and philologist.

A brief statement of their investigations and discoveries forms an article of great interest in that able journal, *Garden and Forest*, edited by Prof. C. S. Sargent, *Vol. II., No. 56, April 3, 1889.*

When that article first appeared, the Observations of Roger Williams on the traditions of the Indians as to the source from which they derived both their corn and their beans, were brought to the notice of the learned editor, and, at his request, a brief paper on the subject was given by the writer, to *Garden and Forest*, and published in that paper, *Vol. II., No. 65, May 22, 1889*, as follows, viz. :

"THE HOME OF THE BEAN.

To the Editor of Garden and Forest:

SIR : — The valuable article in *Garden and Forest* of April 3d, as to the American origin of the garden bean, has recalled some observations of Roger Williams bearing on this interesting question.

In his '*Key into the Language of America*,' which Zachariah Allen, late President of the Rhode Island Historical Society, had copied for the Society many years ago, from the original in the Bodleian Library, at Oxford, Mr. Williams discourses not only on the

language of the Indians, but also on their birds and on the vegetable products of the soil, as well as their religion and traditions.

In his introduction to the work, he says, 'It is famous that the Sow-west (Sou-an-i-u) is the great subject of their discourse. From thence their Traditions. There, they say, (at the south-west) is the Court of their Great God Kau-tan-tou-wit; at the South-west are their forefathers' soules; to the South-west they go themselves when they dye; From the South-west came their Corne and Beanes, out of their Great God Kau-tan-tou-wit's field; and the further Northward and Westward from us, their Corne will not grow, but to the Southward, better and better.' Subsequently when, discoursing on the birds or Fowle, Mr. Williams comes to the 'Crow, Crows,' he observes, that 'These birds, although they doe the corne also some hurt, yet scarce will one *Native* amongst an hundred wil kil them, because they have a tradition that the Crow brought them at first an *Indian* graine of Corne in one Eare, and an *Indian* or *French* beane in another, from the Great God Kau-tan-tou-wit's field, in the South-west from whence, they hold, came all their Corne and Beanes.'*

The prehistoric traditions of the Narragansetts,

*R. I. Hist. Col. I., 21., 85, 86.

thus concur with and as far as they have authority, confirm the conclusions of Prof. Wittmach and others from the discovery of prehistoric beans in prehistoric graves of Arizona and Peru."

But, independently of these observations of Roger Williams, the facts stated by Doctors Gray and Trumbull, in their joint review of DeCandolle's valuable work, "*On the Origin of Cultivated Plants*,"* seem to be the main reliance of Prof. Wittmach in his conclusions on this matter of the natural habitat of the kidney bean.

These facts therefore, as related by the earliest discoverers, in respect to beans (both before and after the date of Roger Williams' Observations) may well be recited to a limited extent, as showing how universal, in those earliest days of American history, was the cultivation of our garden bean.

According to the ancient records, Columbus himself, within three weeks after his first landing in the New World (1492) saw in Cuba, fields planted with beans very different from those of Spain, and the same as those called at a later date, "kidney beans."

Cabeça de Vaca (1528) found beans in Florida, and in New Mexico or Sonora in 1535, and says they raised in some places three crops a year.

* "*Scientific Papers of Asa Gray*," edited by C. S. Sargent, I., 344-354. Boston: 1889.

De Soto, in 1539, found beans at Tampa Bay, and again west of the Mississippi, larger and better than in Spain.

Jacques Cartier, who discovered the river St. Lawrence, found beans on his first voyage, near its mouth ; and again also on his second voyage.

Lescarbot, in 1608, says the Maine Indians planted beans among their corn.

He says also, "that the settlers in Canada, in the time of Jacques Quartier, worked the soil, and the Earth gave them back wheat, beans and peas,* and that between the plants of Maize (which grows like a shrub and ripens in three months), they plant colored *beans*, which are quite delicate, and not being high, grow very well among the stalks of the Maize."

He also describes the games the savages play with colored beans ; and says they make a soup of beans and peas, of which they have a full supply.

Capt. John Smith, who was in Virginia in 1607, describes the Indian mode of planting their corn and beans.

Hendrick Hudson, in 1609, exploring the river bearing his name, found near Schodac a quantity of corn and beans of the preceding year's growth.

*Lib. VI., Chap. XXIV., 836-37, (Paris, 1611) 846 ; 925-26. Chap. XVI., 869.

Wood, 1629-33, says the Indians have in winter, Indian beans.

De Vries, 1631-42, says the stalks of maize served instead of poles, for the beans to grow upon.

Josselyn, (1638-39 and 1663-71) in his *Catalogue of Plants*, proper to this new discovered country, refers to several species of American beans; the Indian beans (falsely called French beans) which the herbalists call "Kidney beans" from their shape and effects, and also a kidney bean proper to Roanoke.

And Dr. Gray states that, according to Navarette, the *Phaseolus vulgaris* (kidney bean) was from the first distinguished as the "Indian bean," and as different from the garden bean (*Vicia Faba*), introduced by the English.

Father Sagard (1632) says the Hurons used in their Succotash (*ne-in-ta-bou-y*) one-third or one-fourth part beans.

Van der Donck says that two imported beans, viz., the "Windsor" bean (*Vicia Faba*), and the "Horse" bean, will not fill out their pods.

To these statements may be added, in more detail, that of Thomas Hariot, a servant (as he styles himself), though actually the historiographer of Sir Walter Raleigh's expedition, who in his brief and true report as to Virginia, says, "*Ok-ind-gier*, caled by us Beanes, in respect of the Beanes for distinc-

tion sake, because they are much lesse, although in forme they differ, but in goodnesse of taste much, and are far better than our English peaze. Both the beanes and peaze are ripe in ten weeks after they are set. They make their victuall either by boyling them all to pieces into a broth, or 'boyling them whole' until they be soft and begin to braike, as is used in England, either by themselves, or mixtly together. Sometimes they mingle the wheat [corn?] with them; sometimes also being whole sodden, they bruse or pound them in a mortar and thereof make loaves, or lumps of dowish bread, which they used to eat for variety."

Most of these references and quotations the writer has been able to verify and some to enlarge, through the courtesy which enabled him to consult the John Carter Brown Library, and also to add to them other statements from Tonti, Père Marquette, Pierre Boucher, De Lâet, De Rasiere, Monardes and Le Clercq.

Thus, Father Le Clercq, in the *Jesuit Relations*, about 1688, says: "For three days they feasted us constantly; the women having returned, brought us Indian corn, Beans, flour and various kinds of fruits, etc."

Tonti, too, in his narrative of the voyage of La Salle, confirms the statement of Father Hennepin and fixes in the Mississippi Valley, near the Arkan-

sas, the habitat of a bean of mammoth growth, (a veritable "*Jack-the-Giant-Killer*" bean), whose stalks were as large as a man's arm, and which climbed like ivy to the tops of the loftiest trees; a kind which grew wild without planting, the stalk lasting several years, and always bearing fruit.*

Another Father says: "The *Son-on-tou-a-ro-non* hunters invited us to a feast of Indian corn and *beans*, cooked in the beautiful clear water" on the borders of Lake Ontario.

Izaack De Rasiere's letter from the island of Manhattan, to Samuel Blomaert, about 1627, says: "In the middle of May, when the maize is the hight of a finger, or more, they plant in each heap [hill] three or four Turkish Beans,† which then grow up with and against the maize which serves for props, for the maize grows on stalks similar to the sugar cane."‡

De Læet, also referring to the products of the American soil, names "especially Beans, which have an admirable variety of color."§

*Shea, *Etablissement de la Foi*, Vol. II., 168, 190.

†Both maize and beans were often called "*Turkish*," though both natives of America.

‡*Account of Manhattan and of Plymouth, Mass., &c.*, N. Y. Hist. Coll. Series, II. Vol. II., 343-354. De Rasiere arrived at Manhattan, 27 July, 1626.

§*Novus Orbis*, Lat. ed. p. 310; Leyden, 1625.

De Læet also says, maize and beans are their main support — the maize, slightly boiled, is cracked in wooden mortars and the beans added. The beans are marked with various and beautiful colors, and are planted in such succession that the stalks of maize will serve as poles on which they may twine. With wooden stakes they make holes in the ground four feet apart, and in them plant four grains of maize and two beans.*

Père Marquette, discoverer of the upper Mississippi, says the beans and melons of the Indians are excellent.†

Pierre Boucher, Governor of Trois Rivières, in Canada, states that the large beans also thrive well there.‡

The learned botanist, Doctor Monardes, sent to America by the King of Spain, describes several kinds of beans native to American soil, — one kind very like the common bean, a little more thick and dark and a little smaller, with the eye (hile) more raised and prominent, and not at all resembling a kidney; another kind, smaller than the common bean, which the Brazilians call "*Macouna*"; and

**Novus Orbis*, ed. 1625, Lib. II., Chap. XIII., 49; Chap. XIX., 56; Lib. III., Chap. X., 73, 81, Latin ed. 1633.

†*Voyage et Découvertes*, p. 22; 1681.

‡*Histoire Vëritable*, Chap. VIII., 82. Paris, 1664.

still another kind which twines about stakes, with short pods and twice as large as the common bean, the flower purple, the fruit the size of a pea, the color black, except a white spot at the point where attached to the pod. Of these he says large quantities grow in Brazil. This seems to be the original of the black bean, now used so much for soups, which has the same white spot at the point of attachment to the pod, and answers very closely to the description given above.

Monardes also describes numerous other varieties of American beans, plain white and parti-colored, which in goodness and flavor much surpass the European bean.

So, too, we are told that when in the autumn of 1622 the Plymouth Pilgrims had small store of corn for the following year, they "got eight hogsheads of Corn and Beans at *Man-a-mogk-ke* (now Chatham), on Cape Cod, though the people [Indians] were but few." * "Thence they returned to *Nauset*, near Barnstable, where also they bought eight or ten hogsheads of Corn and Beans." *

By these statements, early published and never disputed, the general cultivation of the kidney bean in America, at the time of its discovery, is established; and the highest scientific authority of Eu-

* *Young's Chronicles*, XIX., 301, 302.

rope and America not only does not question the fact, but now definitively asserts the American origin of this bean.

It therefore becomes interesting now to turn to Roger Williams' Key, and inquire what particulars (in addition to his incidental observations heretofore quoted) he has to give of beans in his Chapter XVI., "*Of the Earth and the Fruits thereof, &c.*"; and Roger Williams is usually so full and clear in his descriptions that none can fail to regard with great surprise the fact that no mention of the bean at all is to be found there.

Here is an almost universal and staple vegetable — of native American origin — sent to the Indians by their Great God Kau-tan-tou-it along with their corn, and reckoned by their traditions on a par with corn itself, and yet there is no mention whatever of it, or allusion to it, in this whole chapter, whose title declares its specific and scientific object to be to enumerate the products of our American soil, the fruits and vegetables naturally produced, or cultivated and used for food.

It was well known to Roger Williams, who himself has told us,* that the Indians had and cultivated "the *Indian* or *French* Beane;" and he unquestionably knew the "boiled beane whole,"

**Key*, Chap. XV., p. 86; also p. 10, *ante*.

mixed with the "boiled corne whole," as the especial ingredients of succotash, that savory compound of summer food whose origin we owe to the Indians themselves.

We have then here a key, which proposes to unlock the Indian language of America, but which, in this important chapter, in the case of the words which signify and define this great staple and constant food of the Indians, fails wholly to answer its purpose. Whichever way the key is turned it does not unlock the mystery of this omission.

For this reason we are again forced to ask, Why are beans entirely omitted by Roger Williams from the list of products of the soil which he gives in the 16th Chapter of his Key?

In view of the facts heretofore stated, ignorance certainly was not, on the part of Roger Williams, the cause of the omission of beans from this chapter of his Key; forgetfulness of a common vegetable, so vital to the Indians, can hardly be urged; and no reason for a voluntary omission can be conceived.

One can only with great difficulty avoid the conviction that beans must be in the list; and the problem of the omission seemed quite as inexplicable as it was strange, till much reflection and a repeated scrutiny of the chapter finally suggested, as a solution of the problem, that in the words

Au-qun-nasb and *Ne-cawn-au-qua-nasb*, the real beans, "Beanes" and "Old beanes," were to be found; having been placed by Roger Williams in the list of vegetables, near the end of the 16th Chapter, (the last but two of the Indian words there), and having been buried by misprints for these two hundred and fifty years, under Gregory Dexter's "*Barnes*" and "*Old Barnes*."*

Whether this is a just explanation of the matter remains now to be considered; and the following remarks, in support of this view, are respectfully submitted for your consideration.

That there are many typographical errors in the book cannot well be doubted.† Some are obvious, others of them have been exposed by Dr. Trumbull, and the spelling of the penultimate syllable in these two words differs materially, though side by side. Independently of the ordinary errors incidental to printing any such work, the circumstances under which it was written and printed are abundantly

* Gregory Dexter printed *Roger Williams' Key*, London, 1643.

† A somewhat parallel case is the text of *Mourt's Relation*, 4to, John Bellamie, London, 1622. As to this, Rev. H. M. Dexter alleges "mistakes due to blundering compositors and careless proof-reading, which make his re-print blush under a load of errors which would be the ruin of a modern printer of any pretension."

Substitute for English the barbarous Indian tongue, imperfectly known by the author, and absolutely unknown by either compositor, printer or proof-reader, and the multitude of typographical errors which still lurk in the *Key*, may to some extent be imagined.

sufficient to account for many errors in passing through the press, and to excuse at the same time, the author, if not the printer himself: it was in an unknown tongue, and Williams, as he himself says, "drew the materials in a rude lump," at sea, "as a private help to his own memory," on a tedious voyage, tossed in a small and tumbling vessel, and then printed it immediately afterward, during the political convulsions of the stormy period of his first visit to England, when the fight between Charles I. and Parliament was still undetermined, and when his attention was necessarily engrossed in securing the first charter of Rhode Island.

Again, if it be suggested that the omission of beans is not a typographical error, the question at once arises, why should Roger Williams make such a formal record of the Indian words defined in the Key as "Barnes" and "Old barnes". How many barns had any existence in that day, and what was there in them to call for prominent mention in a catalogue of the vegetable products of the soil, or even as objects on the earth itself? What the only barns or store-houses they had, actually were, we shall presently see, and how indifferent it would be whether they were old or new, and whether they were mentioned or ignored.

This question comes with still greater force from the fact that in the copious *Le-na-pe English Dic-*

tionary, of the Pennsylvania Historical Society, containing several thousand Indian words, there is, in this whole record of the language of those Indians, no such word as barn. Beans are plenty, but though the lexicon referred to was compiled nearly one hundred years later than Roger Williams' Key, and after considerable building of barns must have taken place in the vicinity of these Indians, it does not give an Indian word for either store-house or barn.

Had Roger Williams lived in this present century, the barns and old barns scattered over our hills and villages might have obtruded themselves on his notice and called out some observations, from the striking manner in which they everywhere disfigure the landscapes of New England, by their new, stiff homeliness, or their old and ruined state. But when Roger Williams wrote, in 1643, such things as these barns, old or new, could hardly have existed in his Colony, if indeed in all New England, for it was only six years after his arrival, as a homeless exile, on the shores of the Moshassuc.

The colonists were then too poor and straightened to have built them, and with the migratory Narragansetts the only storage places described by the English as barns for seeds and grain, were parts of their temporary wigwams, holes in the ground, and baskets or sacks made from the splints or bark

of trees. That Roger Williams felt it incumbent to include these among the products of the soil, or to classify them as barns, either old or new, there seems the least possible reason to believe.

That we may have a more distinct impression of what, for want of any other common word, the English called barns, or graneries, in those early days, the statements of Wood, in 1634, with regard to the Indians, may be taken.* He was an acute observer, and a man also who clearly relished the good things of this life—the sea-fish and clams upon our shores, the lobsters and oysters of the bays, as well as the splendid wild game of the woods. He says, “You may feast your eyes on their belly-timbers;” and “In winter time they have all manner of fowles of the water and of the land, and beasts of the land and of the water, pond-fish with catharres and other roots, Indian Beanes and Clammes. They boil or roast their victuals, having large kettles, which they traded for with the French, long since, and doe still buy of the English. Before, they had substantial earthen pots, of their own making”—[as *e.g.* the large soap-stone pots made by the Narragansetts at the neighboring quarries in Johnston, R. I.].

“They seldom make bread of the Indian Corne, but seethe it whole, like beanes.”

**New England Prospect*; London, 1634. Note, Chap. VI., 66-67.

Wood then goes on to describe such storage places, or barns, as they had ; their nature and the reason of their existence ; and to show in what manner their grain was preserved by the squaws, who did all the laborious work. He says : " Drying their corne hard in the Sun, they convey it to their barnes, which be great holes digged in the ground, in forme of a brass pot, sealed with rinds of trees, wherein they put their corne ; covering it from the inquisitive search of gurmandizing husbands, who would eat up both their allowed portion and reserved seede, if they knew where to find it. But our hogges, having found a way to unhinge their barne doors and robbe their garner, they are glad to implore their husbands' helpe, to rowle the bodies of trees over their holes, to prevent those pioneers, whose theeverie they as much hate as their flesh."

He probably regarded the Indians as descendants of the lost tribes of Israel, and does not scruple to credit "English hogges" with one degree of superiority to Indian husbands.

But if it be answered to these suggestions of misprints, that this work of Roger Williams has been re-edited and critically examined, in its reprint by the Narragansett Club ; it is sufficient to reply, that the question now made had not only not been started then, but that the learned editor of

this re-print states distinctly the programme of instructions marked out for him by the Club, and says, "It has been the desire of the Narragansett Club, and the constant aim of the Editor, to ensure the literal accuracy of the re-print, even to the re-production of typographical errors of the original." In this matter, therefore, the Club re-print has, as it seems, consistently followed the original typography of Gregory Dexter, and, instead of giving a corrected text, must have perpetuated all the errors that may have existed in the original.

Whether the principle adopted by the Club was wise, or otherwise, is a question quite apart from that at hand, and one which there is no occasion here to decide.

But further, while as to barns there could have been little cause for distinction between old and new, the distinction between new beans and old beans is natural and material. If the mature and dry bean is referred to, its outer hull or skin differs essentially from that of corn. That of corn has a fine, polished and dense texture. That of the beans has a texture thick, coarse and pulpy in comparison, and thus it is much more liable to mould and injury from age and exposure to a moist atmosphere, like that of Narragansett Bay; especially so when only partially protected, in tents or wigwams of the savages, or in holes in the ground. For these

reasons, beans long kept would, in many cases, have lost their natural brightness and have suffered from a degree of mustiness or decay. Or if, as may have been the case, Roger Williams meant merely to distinguish ripe and dry beans from green and new beans, as we distinguish *new* corn from the old and dry, when summer first brings the "roasting ears," the reason for a distinction holds equally good; and this is certainly a possible meaning, as the same prefix also marks the distinction between "Birds" and "Old birds," as the writer has elsewhere found.

Thus the terms "old" and "new," in respect to beans, would have naturally become distinctive terms called for in the Indian language by natural causes, "old" being descriptive of those not young or fresh, but mature and dry, if not in a state of deterioration, or partial decay.

These preliminary considerations have seemed called for, as tending to support the view presented of misprints in the Key, and as in a proper, if not necessary line of argument, for the reason that in a strictly philological aspect, the sources of more exact and far-reaching information as to the Indian vegetable terms are so obscure.

The Bibliography of the Algonquians is surprisingly extensive,—* but the Narragansett tribe is

*See the remarkable work of James Constantine Pilling, *Bibliography of the Algonquian Languages*—614 double column pages. Washington, 1891.

extinct. Neither their language nor that of the Nipmucs is now written or spoken. The word *Auqua-nash*, occurs but once, and then with a prefix, in Eliot's Bible. It is found very seldom elsewhere. As regards vocabularies, it may be said there are none of Southern New England dialects, accessible for verification, more copious than the Bible and grammar of Eliot, the dictionary of Cotton, and this Key of Roger Williams,* the accuracy or inaccuracy of which is, in respect to this word, the question before us.

The argument is thus necessarily much more one of moral or presumptive evidence than of philological demonstration. But without relying on merely general considerations (however natural or strong the presumptions they create), and without avoiding such philological inquiry as may be applicable here, there is one more consideration which deserves attention. This is the fact that the chi-rography of Roger Williams (that ancient and peculiar handwriting) strongly favors the theory of a mistake by the compositor, not merely on account of the similar off-hand aspect of the words *barnes* and *beanes*, but also owing to Williams' peculiar formation of the letters "r" and "e," which enter into the respective words.

Though the handwriting of Roger Williams is

*See Dr. Trumbull's remarks; *Pub. Narr. Club*, I., 7; Editor's Preface.

somewhat rare and difficult to find, and to most readers quite unknown, yet many specimens still exist, and a number of fac-similies have been placed before the world.

One of the earliest of these will be found in Coll. R. I. Historical Society, Vol. I., on the page facing the title-page of Roger Williams' Key. It is easily accessible, and consists of but five lines and of less than twenty-five words.

Now in this examination we must bear in mind that the difference between barnes and beanes involves a single letter only—a change from “r” to “e,” and the simple transposition of this “e.” How naturally and easily the supposed error might occur, by transposition in reading or printing, is obvious from the fact that in these five short lines there are twelve letters “e,” (of the Greek epsilon style), which would read equally well as “r,” and only two letters “r” written in the small Roman character.

And it is a curious coincidence that Dr. Trumbull, in the Club reprint of Roger Williams' Key, calls attention to a case of this identical mistake by the printer, in substituting an “r” for an “e.” In *Pub. Narr. Club*, Vol. I., 103, he says, “The ‘r’ in this word is misprinted for ‘e.’”

In an autograph letter of Roger Williams, in my own possession, the same peculiar resemblance between the two letters is also found.

But leaving now the more open ground of presumption and moral probability—when we come to the actual meaning and use of words by those most conversant with the Indian language, and compare the word *Au-qun-nasb*, translated “Barnes,” and *Ne-cawn-au-qua-nasb*, translated “Old barnes,” with the corresponding Indian equivalents which John Eliot employs as meaning barns or store-houses, in his translation of the Bible, we are confronted with another difficulty. It is this. We do not find this word *Au-qun-nasb*, nor its cognates, used in those passages of Eliot’s Bible (the principal printed volume in the Indian language) in which barns are referred to, and with which Eliot was so familiar.

On the contrary, Eliot seems to have been at times so hard pushed in translating the English word barn, that in three cases, at least, he coins a word for the occasion, or else Indianizes the English word (as children made “Hog Latin” in by-gone days), *e. g.*, Job xxxix., 12, “Gather it into thy barn,” where he writes, *Barn-u-mut*. Hagg. ii., 19, “Is the seed yet in the barn,” where he writes, *Barn-e-ut*; and Joel i., 17, “The barns are broken down,” where he writes, *Barns-asb*, giving, in this last case, the Indian plural affix to the English plural noun.

In other cases Eliot employs for “barn” the word *Mee-cbu-meb-ko-muk* and its variations, as in the passage, Luke xii., 24, “Which neither have store-

house nor barn"; and Luke xii., 18, *Me-cbu-meb-komuk-quash*, with the plural affix for inanimate nouns, in the passage, "I will pull down my barns and build greater."

The quotations which follow illustrate what appears in many others, that Eliot's knowledge of Indian words had not compassed such a fact as that *Au-qun-nash* meant "barnes," and show that this learned and devoted translator of the Bible did not, to the end of his days, attain the simple truth, if it were a truth, which the printed definitions of Roger Williams' Key, as to the words in question, placed before his eyes.

If we look beyond Eliot, to Josiah Cotton's *Vocabulary of the Indian Language*,* we find him using substantially the same words used by Eliot, as denoting store-houses, garner, or barns; and to illustrate this somewhat more fully, the annexed series of those Indian words used by Cotton and Eliot, (with the Bible passages in which they are employed) is submitted (p. 31), as these instances will give a more distinct impression, through the eye, than any mere verbal statement would probably convey through the ear.

For the same reason the prefixes and affixes, not virtually common to all the terms, are printed in Roman characters.

**Vocabulary of the Massachusetts (or Natick) Indian Language.* By Josiah Cotton. Cambridge, 1829.

- *Mee-chu-mah-ko-muk* . . . Which neither have
store-house nor
barn.
Eliot's Bible,
Luke xii. 24.
- Num-*me-chu-mik-ko-muk-quash* . I will pull down my
barns and build
greater.
Eliot's Bible,
Luke xii. 18.
- *Me-chi-muk-o-muk* . . . A barn.
Cotton's Vocabu-
lary.
- *Me-chi-muk-o-muk-quash* . Barns.
Cotton's Vocabu-
lary.
- Ti-oh-quo-que-*me-chu-muk-o-muk* . . . A low barn.
Cotton's Vocabu-
lary.
- Num-wam-etch-mu-*me-chiu-muk-o-muk* . . . A full barn.
Cotton's Vocabu-
lary.
i.e., An "affording
all manner of
store" barn.
Eliot's Bible, Ps.
cxliv. 13.
- *Mee-chu-muk-ko-muk-quash* . The garners are
laid desolate.
Eliot's Bible, Joel
i. 17.
- Kum-*mee-chu-muk-ko-muk-qut* . The Lord shall
command the
blessing upon
thee in thy store-
houses.
Eliot's Bible, Deut.
xxviii. 8.
- Wad-*cha-nu-muk-ko-muk-qut* . Over the store-
house in the fields.
Eliot's Bible, I.
Chron. xxvii. 25.
- *Mee-chu-mik-ko-muk-quash* . Store-houses also
for the increase
of corn.
Eliot's Bible, II.
Chron. xxxii. 28.
- Mau-*ma-chi-yeu-ko-muk-qut* . He layeth up the
depth in store-
houses.
Eliot's Bible, Ps.
xxxiii. 7.
- Um-*mau-ma-chic-kom-muk-quash* . Open the store-
houses.
Eliot's Bible, Jer.
l. 26.

Both Cotton and Eliot use the same word for store-houses as for barns, and both ignore entirely any such word as *Au-qun-nasb* when writing of either one or the other.

There are also other passages where Eliot might well have used any specific word meaning barn, in which he has adopted a paraphrase (as in the parable of the tares), and describes the gathering and bringing in of the grain by the harvesters as in a kind of harvest-home.

The above citations show that the authority of Cotton confirms the invariable usage of Eliot in rejecting the word *Au-qun-nasb* as meaning "barnes."

The result of a somewhat extended comparison of the words defined as "barnes" in the Key, and the words meaning barns, as used and defined by Eliot and Cotton, is therefore wholly disappointing. There is not in any of those numerous cases the word *Au-qun-nasb*, nor any other word which appears to have any distinct relation to it. Is it conceivable that this could be so, if the true meaning of the word was "barnes?"

Let the same test now be applied to the word *Au-qun-nasb*, on the assumption of a misprint in the Key, and that the word defined as "barnes" actually signifies beans. What do we then find? We have reason to regret, for it is very embarrassing, that there are but two places in the English Bible

where the specific word "beans" is used. One is in Ezekiel iv., 9, "Take thou also unto thee, wheat and barley and beans and lentiles, and millet and fitches, and put them in one vessel and make thee bread thereof," &c. But in this case, somewhat unhappily, Eliot again uses a word of his own manufacture, simply Indianizing the English word by adding the inanimate plural affix, and translates beans, *Beants-asb*. This passage therefore leaves us in the same obscurity as before, and resolves no doubts. There is, however, one other passage in which "beans" occurs. It is II. Samuel, xvii., 28, where his friends "brought for David, and for the people that were with him, to eat (when fleeing from Absalom they were hungry and weary and thirsty in the wilderness), wheat and barley, and flour, and parched corn, and beans."

Here, for the first time in his Bible, we find the Indian word which Eliot uses to signify beans, and this word is *Tupp-ub-qua-mash*. The word in Roger Williams' Key translated "barnes," is *Auqun-nash*, and except for the prefix *Tupp*, the two words are not only cognate, but virtually identical; so that it would be truly hard to distinguish any difference in the sound of the two words as spoken to English ears. The three syllables in Williams' word are practically the same in both words, in number and sound. The "m" in the terminal *mash*

is an obvious misprint for "n" in *nasb*; an "m" as in *Tupp-ub-qua-masb* not being, so far as the writer has observed, found anywhere as the first letter of a plural terminal in Roger Williams' Key. So, too, the "n" in the penult of *Au-qun-nasb* should probably be "a," as it is in its companion word *Ne-cawn-au-qua-nasb*, in the Key and in the citation from II. Samuel, above.

The influence of the prefix *Tupp*, and the special significance of the word as a whole, will more fully appear presently. For since the above argument was written, a new and closer examination of the joint review of De Candolle referred to, shows that Dr. Trumbull recognizes *Tupp-ub-qua-masb* as meaning beans, in the quoted passage of Eliot's Bible, and also discovers the word as meaning some high-twining, or climbing sort of bean, in the Algonquian language. This also accords with Lescarbot's saying, that the Indians planted their beans among their corn; and De Vries' statement that the stalks of corn served in the place of sticks or stakes for them to twine around.

Is not, then, the conclusion unavoidable as to *Au-qun-nasb*, that what is radically the same word had radically the same meaning of beans, when it was a common word of the Narragansetts for whose benefit, as well as for that of the Massachusetts Indians, Eliot's translation was made.

It is, however, a matter of regret that Dr. Trumbull did not, in that connection, refer to the existence of the word *Au-qun-nasb* as a word in common use in the Narragansett language, as recorded by Roger Williams.

It is true that the Key, as printed in another place and on another subject — Chap. II., “Of Eating and Entertainment,” — gives the word *Mon-as-qus-se-dasb* as meaning “beanes;” but it seems evident that this word as there used was not intended to describe beans in their natural state, as grains, seed, or fruit, in the condition produced by the earth,— but beans cooked for food in some form, in a state ready to be eaten, and prepared as a dish for the entertainment of guests, or of one’s family; just as the Indians gave and we give a special name to each one of the various forms of cooked corn. As the previous word, *M-sick-qua-tasb*, is defined as “boil’d corne whole,” it seems reasonable to suppose *Mon-as-qus-se-dasb* meant “boiled beanes whole” (which Hariot says was one way of serving them for the table), and was so written by Roger Williams, with commas or signs of repetition merely,* which were carelessly omitted by the printer; for it was by a mixture of these two grains or seeds, “boiled whole,” one-third or one-

* e.g., *M-sick-qua-tasb*, boil’d corne whole.
Mon-us-qus-se-dash, “ beanes “

fourth beans, that the succotash of our ancestors, and (as Father Sagard says†) of the Indians also,—that delicious compound for summer food,—was made, of which the name is directly derived from this name, *M-sick-qua-tash*, used by the Indians themselves. Indeed, so obviously does the word *Mon-as-qus-se-dash* represent some special form of cooked beans, according to the statement of Roger Williams, the place he assigns it, and the subsequent use of the word, that it would probably be quite as improper to place it in the list of natural products of the soil as for us to enumerate “Boston baked beans,” “bean porridge,” or “black-bean soup,” as natural products of our gardens. These are all synthetic names, formed on the same system as the poly-synthetic words of the Indian tongues.

And though Cotton (1728), nearly 100 years afterward, gave as a name of the Indian bean, *Keb-tob-te-æ Mon-as-quis-set*; * and Ezra Stiles (1760), still later, gave as a name for beans, in the Pequot dialect, *Musb-quis-se-des*, both these cognate words are in substance Roger Williams’ name for cooked beans, and subject to the same interpretation and construction as the *Mon-as-qus-se-dash*, or cooked beans of the Key, and present no greater

† *Le Grande Voyage*, Chap. VIII., 138. Paris, 1632.

* Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc., 3d Series, Vol. II., p. 160.

difference than would naturally result from the differing dialects of adjacent tribes of Pequot, Narragansett and Nipmuck, as cited by different observers at widely different periods and under different conditions. But Eliot in his Bible recognizes no such name. He nowhere uses *Mon-as-qus-se-dasb*; and while there may not perhaps be justly claimed for these "boil'd beanes whole" the delicate succulence and subtile mental food of the "Boston baked beans," which (in their triumphant circuit of the globe) are bearing with them enlightenment and civilization, they may have been to the untutored Narragansett the source of that brain power and inspiration which sustained him so long in his struggle for independence against his most deadly foe, the hierarchy of "The Bay."

In a brief summary of the matter in hand a few points seem worthy of special consideration.

1. Considering that barns have no affinity to vegetables or to the fruits of the earth, any Indian word meaning barns, or old barns, may well be deemed out of place in Chapter XVI. of Roger Williams' Key.

2. While the words barn, store-house and garner are frequently used in Scripture, there is not a place in Eliot's Bible where the word *Au-qun-nasb*, which in the Key is defined "barnes," is used to describe either one or the other.

3. In *Cotton's Vocabulary* the word *Au-qun-nash* is not used to signify "a barn." On the contrary, Cotton gives a very different word for barn, viz., *Me-cbi-muk-o-muk*.

4. Eliot also, in his Bible, uses the same word which Cotton uses, viz., *Me-cbi-muk-o-muk*, as meaning barn and store-house.

5. When, on the theory that "Barnes" and "Old Barnes" are misprints for "Beanes" and "Old Beanes," we examine Eliot's Bible, where beans are spoken of, we find the only Indian word he uses for beans is *Tupp-ub-qua-mash*. And it has also been shown that in the Algonquian language this word means a high-twining bean, the prefix *Tupp*, giving some indication of its character.

6. Eliot and Cotton both wrote at a later period, and when writing, either had or did not have before them Roger Williams' Key, which was published previous to either of their works. If they had it, why was not the clearly-printed *Au-qun-nash* used for barns, instead of *Me-cbi-muk-o-muk*, and instead of the frequent Indianizing of the English word barns, as in *barns-ash*, &c.? Why, too, did Eliot translate beans by *Tupp-ub-qua-mash* and not by *Mon-as-qus-se-dash*, used in one instance by Roger Williams where speaking of cooked beans, but not at all in Chapter XVI. of the Key? If they did not have the Key, by what chance did both

translate barns so uniformly and constantly by *Me-cbi-muk-o-muk*, and not once by *Au-qun-nasb*, the word of Williams' Key?

The Indian language was the same. They were bound to have all possible accessions to their work of instruction, and without doubt they both had Roger Williams' Key; and they must have deliberately rejected the printed words and definitions of the Key because they knew them, in this particular case, to be wrong, and they must have adopted the words, *Me-cbi-muk-o-muk* for barn, and *Tupp-ub-qua-masb* for beans, because they knew them to be right.

There is probably no advantage, at this time, in following this inquiry any further. The only excuse for so long engrossing your time must be, that there seemed no better way of getting at and illustrating the truth. In any well-known, copious or living language the process would have been vastly easier and far more brief. In this case the language is dead, without science, without general literature, or any recorded use of the words in question (so far as the writer has as yet found), except in the few isolated cases cited, one of which is the actual case in question.

Authority and common usage, therefore, fail us as tests; and apart from the two cases of actual use, one in Eliot's Bible and one from the Algonquian,

there seems to be at present no readily available test or evidence, except the presumptive evidence and argument from attending facts and circumstances, the most prominent of which have been laid before you.

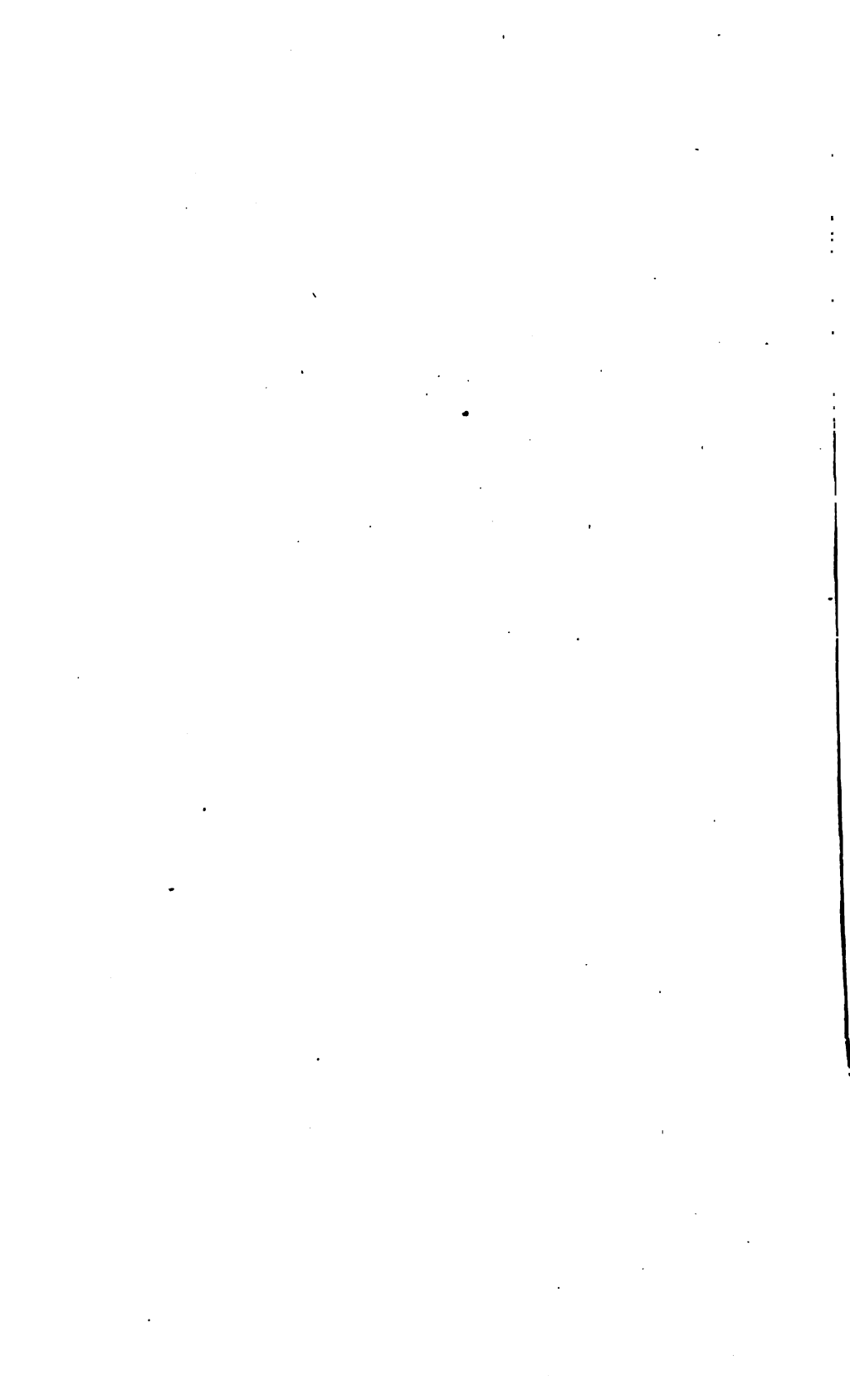
It is on this varied evidence that these suggestions of what seem clearly to be misprints in Roger Williams' Key are made. Some explanation has been given of the manner in which they probably or possibly occurred. Such evidence as was accessible has also been furnished of the true meaning of the words in the Key, which seem erroneously translated, as they now stand, "Barnes" and "Old Barnes," in every edition of that work.

In conclusion, it must be borne in mind that though the language of the Narragansett Indians is a dead language, no longer spoken or written, our Indian languages, as a body, were never so constantly and critically studied as at the present time. They are a most prominent and often a final factor in all ethnological investigations as to the origin and conditions of life of the first inhabitants and the succeeding races of this continent. The Smithsonian Institute is unremitting in the investigation and comparison of these languages in every form, and we may fairly look to it for further light, even on the words in question.

It cannot therefore be justly said that a mistake as to the actual meaning of these Indian words is a matter of no account. However trivial such a misprint may seem to us, the value of the truth in the smallest things is never to be slighted. It is something accomplished, and enough for this occasion, if you are satisfied as to the fact of the misprints and with the vindication of Roger Williams in this matter, and feel assured that he never wrote "barnes" for "beanes."

The final decision may confidently be referred to the professed philologists, to whose province it especially belongs.

PROVIDENCE,
1892.



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